S SR 369 [162] /381 cont./ inhabitants. These three villages are located less than two kilometers from the first urban quarters, consequently a favorable location for the daily departure of workers for the escale.

S SR 369 162 [563] The ethnic composition of these agglomerations, despite the urban proximity (favorable for the mixing of peoples), has remained homogeneous. At Sapko there is no foreign element; at Tiali two Wolof and one Sérère-Sine were working there temporarily at the time of the time of the inquiry; by contrast, nearly a tenth of the population of Thiès-None is made up of individuals belonging to non-Sérère ethnic groups (Wolof, Toucouleur, Peul). A parallel must be drawn between this quite relative heterogeneity and the almost total Islamization of the locality. Nearly four-fifths of the population of Thiès-None has embraced this religion; Sapko and Tiali, by contrast, remain essentially Catholic or fetishistic, the Moslems living there generally being transient elements.

S SR 582 794 [563] A kind of self-defense by the Catholic group that lives in a region largely Islamized seems to be one of the primary reasons for this ethnic integrity. Under the influence of the fathers, who possess, it seems, a profound authority over every Christian agglomeration, marriages occur from None village to None village and between Catholics (1).

S SR [177] 1. The woman seems to be the element through which the transition from the Catholic religion to the Moslem religion occurs. The young Christian who marries a Moslem no longer practices and quickly abjures her first religion; her children and the whole line will become Islamized under the paternal influence.

S SR 162 369 /382/ An examination of the male and economically active population of these three agglomerations gives the result that 38% of its elements have remained essentially

/426 cont./

*511 352 lists is the bed (1). In nearly all of the African lodgings we

1. The 13.3% of the cultivator, No. 32, arose from the purchase of a cart and a horse.

find at least a bed, but there is rarely one for everyone. And [369] to sleep in a bed has become the best proof that one can give of his acclimatization to the city.

If the income is higher, one may be able to buy more important pieces of furniture. Then, in the order of their urgency, the armchairs, the rugs, and then the tables and wardrobes appear.

*511 Then we come to the rubric "Exceptional Expenses," those for which no absolute necessity is felt. Moreover they are rarer at the top of the table, only three, and then they multiply (Table XIV).

[405] [301] [493] [207] [301] The first thing that we find here is the watch or the alarm clock, closely followed by the jewelry of the wife or wives. There follow, but only in the highest incomes, the bicycle, or, depending on the possibilities, the bicycle with a motor on it or the motorcycle, then the battery radio. There is nothing very original in all this, and, except perhaps for the importance given to the jewelry of the women, we would find similar pretensions among European families having equivalent incomes.

*511 794 [771] In the last table (Table XV)[1] we have grouped a series of expenses that have a common origin, the religion of the families investigated, all Moslems except one. Two Moslem holidays are involved, Tabaski and Korité, religious assessments, /427/ /Table XIV appears here/, /428/ offerings to the marabouts, and, finally, expenses arising from sending children to the Koranic school.

*511 796 For Tabaski, each family slaughters a sheep. There

1 [See cat 116, pp 69-71. ANALYST]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

The French sociologist Mercier has already remarked the fundamental homogeneity of Senegal's main ethnic groups, which 'Whatever their cultural differences and whatever their traditional hostility to one another (which has by no means completely disappeared) all had the same type of social and political organisation.'

Of the major groups the Wolof and the Lebou are for all intents and purposes indistinguishable, the Lebou being the Wolof-speaking inhabitants of the Cape Verde peninsula. The Serer are also very closely related to the Wolof, being considered as tribal cousins. The Toucouleur, Serer and Fula are traditionally connected, it being held that the Toucouleur are the result of an ancient mixing between the Serers, with whom they have a strong joke-relationship, and the Fulas whose language is very close to their own. Thus nearly three-quarters of the population have closer historical and ethnic connexions than exist in any other area of West Africa save Hausaland in Northern Nigeria. With the exception of the Serers, of whom a substantial minority is Christian, these people are almost exclusively Muslim. They also tend today to use Wolof as a lingua franca. Even the Diola, from the Casamance, which is in many ways a minority area of Senegal, especially because it is cut off from the north by the Gambia, have strong traditional connexions with the Serer and assert in effect that they are descended from the same ancestor. This leaves only the Mandingo people out of the pattern and as we shall see they do tend to be a minority group in Senegal.

There is thus at the basis of Senegalese society an indigenous homegeneity that is nothing to do with the French policy of assimilation, and which has been greatly encouraged by a common adherence to Islam, where Marabouts or religious leaders of one tribe have considerable influence over Muslims of other ethnic origins.

The French administration, however, through its policy of direct rule did in fact make one major contribution towards

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

563 646 is excellently balanced from a tribal point of view. The large number of Lebou deputies is accounted for by the fact that the Lebou were the original inhabitants of Dakar, and therefore had greater facilities for education than other groups. The relatively small number of Serer deputies can be explained by the fact that the distinction between Wolof and Serer is not very pronounced. Again, the small number of Fula deputies in proportion to their size as an ethnic group is partly the result of the fact that they are a nomadic people, and partly because they are very close to the Toucouleur who have a relatively high representation. The only grossly under-represented group are the Mande, for though the Mandingo-Bambara peoples make up 7 per cent of the population and have 4 per cent of the deputies, only one of the three deputies in this group is actually Mande, who make up the greater part of this 7 per cent. Both in Senegal and neighbouring Gambia the Mandingo seem to have fared badly as a group in politics. Though only 5 per cent of Senegal is Christian, five members of the Government and nearly a fifth of the National Assembly are Christian. Nor does one have to be a member of the majority tribe in a constituency to be elected by it*.

[162] [771]

563 [771] A source of possible conflict in Senegal is the existence of a large Muslim majority and a small Christian minority representing only 5 per cent of the population. The French as the colonial power, despite their policy of assimilation, were unable to establish a strong Catholic Church in Senegal since Islam had been with the Toucouleur since the eleventh century and had already embraced most of the country by the time Faidherbe extended his protectorate. Islam in Senegal is peculiarly tolerant, not only in its concessions to traditional beliefs among more recently converted groups, but also towards Christians. In few other predominantly Muslim countries would it be possible not only to have a Catholic President but to have such a

* I am indebted to Mr. W. J. Foltz for supplying me with most of the data on which this paragraph is based.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

563 [433] [735] them strict enough Muslims, the main distinguishing feature of their homeland, the Vallée du Fleuve du Sénégal, is its poverty compared with that of other parts of Senegal. Diop Abdoulaye in his study of Toucouleur immigration into Dakar estimates that the average *per capita* income of a Toucouleur of that region is little more than 4,000 *C.F.A.* [434] per annum, i.e. about £6 a year. It is this rather than any real tribal differences that makes the Vallée a special problem, and this as much as any ethnic factor accounted [665] for the existence of the *Union Générale de la Vallée du Fleuve.*

563 619 The only real minority area in the Senegal is the Casamance, whose special position is further emphasised by its separation from the main block of Senegal by the Gambia. In the past it has been thought of as geographically, economically, socially and even religiously separate from the rest of Senegal. A forest zone closer to its neighbours Portuguese Guinea and the Republic of Guinea, it remained very underdeveloped by the French, though the present Government is taking this fact into account with a special development programme for the area. This separateness was emphasised by the very name Casamance. The people describe themselves to this day as *Casamançais* rather than Senegalese, though this could well be accepted on the same terms as a Briton describing himself as Scots or Welsh. It is fortunate that the tendency is to talk in terms of regional rather than tribal origin. However one of the important factors in the Casamance has been tribal. The Diolas were until very recently an animist people with an entirely different social organisation from that of the main groups of Senegal, though as we have already pointed out they had traditional ties with the Serer which went as far as the injunction that a Diola should never spill the blood of a Serer. But today the Diola are being drawn into the main socio-religious pattern of Senegal. In the most recent estimate of the religious [162] [771] adherence of the population of Casamance, estimated at 327,500, 284,000 were Muslims, only 28,000 Christians and

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

the rest animists. Of course this includes the exclusively Muslim Mandingo inhabitants of the Casamance who have been largely responsible for this proselytisation. The Diola too is inclined more and more to imitate his Mandingo and Wolof neighbours. L. V. Thomas, who has written a monumental study on the Diola, fears: 'Soon the Diola country may be, at least in its landscape, like Senegal if no power intervenes to limit the extension of the bushfire; it will certainly become, in its people, just another African country, where only a few anthropological remains fixed by heredity will enable us to distinguish the Diola from the Wolof or the Mandingo.'

The Casamance may well be coming closer to the rest of the Senegal, but it still remains a seat of opposition to the Government of Senghor and Dia, and votes heavily for the opposition *P.R.A.-Sénégal*. However neither of the leaders of this party, Ly Abdoulaye or Assane Seck, is *Casamançais*, and there is strong support in many towns for the *U.P.S.*, which indicates that Diola-Casamance politics are not necessarily either regional or tribal, though these are important factors.

The main social problem of the Senegal, and one which both assimilation and religion seem to have been unable to break down, is that of caste or a class structure very similar to caste. All the main Senegalese tribes—the Wolof, Lebou, Toucouleur, Serer—are divided into a series of endogamous castes. These castes differ slightly from tribe to tribe, but roughly they are divided thus:

Nobles and Freeborn
Artisans (jewellers, smiths, weavers, leatherworkers)
Griots or minstrels
Liberated slaves
Slaves

(Of course domestic slaves no longer exist as such in Senegal, but families know who their slaves were.)

It is certainly easier in Senegal for a Toucouleur noble to marry a Wolof noble than to marry a woman of inferior

/183 cont./

871 On the other hand, the backwardness of the girls, which was particularly marked among the Wolof and the Toucouleur, [illegible]pears almost completely among the Wolof of the districts, whereas one Toucouleur girl out of four in the districts still does not go to school.

191 871 In all respects one observes a radical change which distinguishes the generations: the one of the present parents is, in the majority, illiterate and knows only a little French. The situation is reversed with the rising generation, thanks to the effort toward educational equipment. This upset will be even more noticeable in the female population, for in 20 years more than half the mothers of families living in Pikine will have been to school, while at present one finds scarcely any.

V. Religion

771 795 162 A final factor should be studied because of its considerable cultural influence: that of religion. In Pikine the vast majority of inhabitants are Moslems, so that, in addition to membership in a religious confession properly speaking, we have differentiated membership in a definite Islamic sect. This leads to five different categories within Islam: two of these are sects of wide geographic scope, the Tidjanes and the Khadres, one is peculiar to the Senegal, Muridism, and one is encountered above all in the region of Cape Verde, the Layens; finally, some individuals, while calling themselves Moslems, declare that they do not belong to any sect.

795 162 Here (p.43) is the table of the various sects or religious confessions into which the inhabitants of Pikine are divided, first in absolute figures and then in percentages.

It suffices to underline the points that these tables clearly bring to light. First, the numerical preponderance of the Tidjanes over the assemblage of the other confessions.

/27 cont./

daughters who are pursuing their studies figure much more frequently. While among the laborers, the workers, and to a lesser degree the master workmen, it is above all a matter of relatives -- in the majority close relatives, cousins, nephews -- who are unemployed or without an occupation. We shall thus again find the same grouping of categories, although here the differences are more blurred than in the other domains considered. 369* 565 602

D. -- For numerical data on the dimensions of the restricted family, thus on the extension of polygamy, we refer to the account by L. Massé in the present collection. We shall only add certain comments based on complementary studies.

/28/ 1. Religious affiliation divides our population into two groups, one Christian, almost exclusively monogamous (1), 369* 595 565 [771]

1. There are cases of polygamy, but they are rarely admitted.

the other Moslem, where the tendency toward polygamy is very deep-rooted, but where differences make themselves felt according to the socio-occupational category. It is only on the level of the members of the teaching and intellectual professions, etc., that this distinction based on religion disappears, and that we ascertain, common to Christians and Moslems, a value set on monogamy.

2. It is in fact on the level of values more than on that of de facto situations that this question must be studied. The progression of the number of polygamous men in going from the laborers to the master workmen, passing through the workers, and, in a different sector, going from the subordinate functionaries and employees to the superior functionaries and employees, is found again in going from the petty to the large-scale merchants. Polygamy may be, by the same token, an ideal for all the members of these categories, but it is only realized on occasion (2) starting from a certain material [183

2. It is obviously limited by the

S /97 cont./
SR the Sérère, a peaceful cultivator. The latter submitted to
173 the yoke calmly and to some extent absorbed the conquerors
SR through marriages which multiplied between the victorious
[563] Guelewar chiefs and the women of the country.

The merging of the races was complete. From the union of the conquering Mandingue chief Maïssa Waldione and a Sérère princess, Ouagana was born. This young warrior dethroned the Sérère Bours and moved the capital from M'Bissel to Diakhao. The Guelewars are thus usurpers. The dethroned Bours, who are still called "Bours Ganieck," never tried to regain their royalty.

A short time later a brother of Ouagana, named Bégana, succeeded in seizing authority in Saloum by stripping of his prerogatives the Bour Saloum, Elibane, of Toucouleur origin, who reigned at Kahone.

At that time, Saloum extended south as far as the Gambia.

S The Mandingue invasion, making an oil stain, de-
173 tached one branch, the Socé, who occupied the southern portion, from Messira to Koungheul.

The Socé a short time later were separated into two sections by the conquering Dabali at the head of the Toucouleur from Fouta-Toro. These invaders occupied Rip and remained there, founding a family with the Socé and the Ouoloff. They
S [771] contributed to the Islamization of the first occupants and were strong enough to shake off the yoke of Saloum. The principality of Rip was very powerful on various occasions.

The Ouoloff race, originally from the north, penetrated /98/ everywhere to some extent, into Saloum, into Sine, and as far as into Rip and Niom-Bato.

The Peuhl /Peul/ or Foulbé /Fulbe/ are not very numerous; they peacefully infiltrated among the other races.

SR We have seen above that the Bour in Sine and Saloum
643 was chosen from the noble caste of the Guelewars. This
[565] royalty was not hereditary. The Bour was selected publicly by
[645] a high personage, the Grand Diaraff, a kind of prime minister
000 taken from the free caste of the Diambours. Next to him,

/99 cont./

S 162 Population. As we have just seen in this brief historical account, the principal native races occupying the region are: the Sérère, the Socé or Mandingue, the Toucouleur, and the Peuhl.

The population is distributed as follows:

Ouoloff	105,000	inhabitants
Sérère	85,000	"
Mandingue or Socé	50,000	"
Peuhl	10,000	"
Foreigners and miscellaneous	15,000	"
Total	280,000	inhabitants

S [161] In 15 years, the population, which in 1913 numbered 180,000 natives, increased by more than a third. This result is due, not only to the birth rate, but also and above all to the immigrants from neighboring countries (Upper Gambia, Sudan, Guinea, Casamance), who are attracted by the economic development of the region.

S 771 Religion. Fetishism is losing ground to the benefit of Islamism. This religion is predominant at present. Only the SR [771] Sérère still preserves his ancestral customs, but he is attracted to the religion of Islam. Three Moslem sects are represented: S [795] the Tidjania, the Kadria, and the Murids.

Muridism, a new religious sect which has as prophet the venerated marabout, the late Serigne Bamba, has its great mosque at N'Diourbel in Baol.

/100/ The Moslem populations are the Ouoloff, the Toucouleur, and a part of the Socé.

SR [771] The fetishism of the Sérère is a naturistic cult.

SR 105 [611] The customs are derived from the matriarchy. It is a regime of castes. Paternal authority is preserved intact in the family, with, however, respect for the mother and certain prerogatives of the maternal line, notably in the matter of succession. The captive, formerly, was treated gently by his